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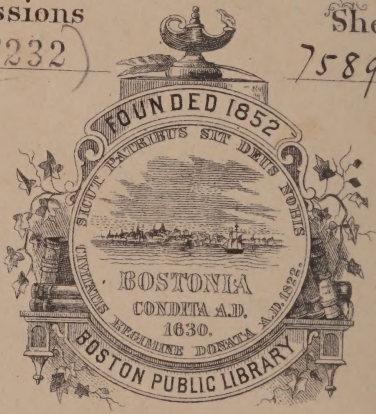

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THE

HOPE OF THE REPUBLIC.

BY

EDWARD H. ROGERS,

AUTHOR OF LEGISLATIVE REPORTS AND PUBLIC ADDRESSES UPON SOCIAL QUESTIONS.

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"Europe is marching toward the republic; but you young men must not deceive yourselves. By the faults of governments, which sometimes yield when they ought to be firm, and sometimes resist when they ought only to curb and direct, this century will see only the period of transition, — a transition which will be bloody, terrible, and which, I thank God, I am not to see. The blending of social and political, of interior and exterior problems, is such at this period that nations are fatally forced to decide all questions by suppressing all. But violent suppression and solution are two things; and, shift them as you please, questions will still exist as threatening as ever.

"It is only when the New World, which is already tearing the flanks of the Old, shall have acquired enough of virility and of wisdom to vanquish and to decide, that an *economical republic* will bring back order and peace to our society." — *Address of* M. THIERS *to a body of French students, 1868.*

"The old question is coming up again, the old faith is openly set aside, and we are told that infallibility is at last found for men, and resides in the majority. . . . We may despise the present advocates of social democracy, and make light of their sayings and doings; but there is no man who knows what is really going on in England but will admit that there will have to be a serious reckoning with them at no distant day. . . . Many of us feel that any tyranny under which England has groaned in the past has been light by the side of what we may come to, if we are to carry the new political gospel to its logical conclusion. . . . But, if we will not do this, is there any alternative, since we repudiate personal government, but to fall back on the old Hebrew and Christian faith, that the nations are ruled by a living, present, invisible King?" — *Life of Alfred, by* THOMAS HUGHES.

27232

THE HOPE OF THE REPUBLIC.

A WORKINGMAN'S VIEWS OF THE RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO THE STATE.

BY EDWARD H. ROGERS, CHELSEA, MASS.

[Revised and reprinted from the "Labor Balance" of July, 1878.]

FREE institutions are yet on trial. The first century of our national existence has indeed developed glorious possibilities of success; but it has also revealed exposures to evil, not only appalling in their magnitude, but of a character hitherto unsuspected. The dangers of an unemployed and poverty-stricken class have suddenly burst upon us without warning. These dangers originate almost exclusively in the defects of our existing systems of industry and exchange; and it has become a matter of profound solicitude with all thoughtful persons, to ascertain whether there are any forces in the world through which a voluntary and peaceable solution of the questions at issue may be found.

Until within a few years, the writer was unable to answer this question to his own satisfaction; but he has at length come to the clear conviction, that the perpetuity of the republic depends on the application of the principles of the Mosaic legislation, and of the teachings of Jesus, to the management of our material affairs; and that this must be brought about *indirectly* through the associated action of the members of the church of Christ, in mutual care for each other's pecuniary welfare, thus gradually leavening society with the principles of the Decalogue, and the motives of the Gospel. The laws of the original church were avowedly so planned by Moses, both as to the prevention and relief of poverty, that, if

obeyed, there could not have been any permanently poor class (Deut. xv. 4, *marg.*). But the action of the church will depend on the interpretation she puts on the gospel, in its relation to the Old Testament. It becomes us, therefore, to enter upon a fresh investigation of the institutes of Moses and the teachings of Christ in their bearing upon the existence and extension of free institutions throughout the world.

To aid us in this effort to examine the Bible anew, we have at hand a scholarly treatise, written some thirty years ago, very commanding in its excellences, and equally marked in its defects, but which stands in such relations to the recent rapid development of opinion upon social questions in this country, and is so representative in its character, as to require our especial consideration. I refer to the work of Professor E. C. Wines, a social scientist of reputation, and a Christian believer, entitled "A Commentary on the Laws of the Ancient Hebrews;" extracts from which are now laid before the reader.

"This treatise is an attempt to analyze and to develop systematically the civil polity of the inspired Hebrew lawgiver. The civil government of the ancient Hebrews was the government of a free people. It was a government of laws. It was a system of self-government. The constitution of Moses was pervaded with popular sympathies and the spirit of liberty. The moderns are not real discoverers: they have but propagated and applied truths and principles established by the first, the wisest, the ablest, of legislators."

After glancing at the "two systems of civilization that preceded the Hebrew culture, namely, the Asiatic and the Egyptian," and at the priestly caste in Egypt, which was the treasury of the learning and culture of that nation, and at the "iron despotism, both civil and ecclesiastical," which it established, Professor Wines continues:—

"In the midst of this deplorable superstition and tyranny there appeared a man endowed with a noble genius, deeply versed in all the wisdom and folly of those times, strong in the energy of his own thought, and expressly raised up and qualified by Heaven to become the reformer of his age. That man was Moses,

the inspired Hebrew lawgiver. By the wisdom of his polity and the vigor of his genius, he overthrew the whole degrading apparatus of political jugglery and priestly despotism. He reduced the speculative ideas of his own and the preceding ages to a single sublime principle of simplicity. HE RECOGNIZED THE WELFARE AND HAPPINESS OF THE PEOPLE AS THE ONE SUPREME LAW OF POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY. He impressed a new character upon his age and species. He gave a new impulse to man, both in his individual and social energies; and he fixed upon his labors the indestructible seal of a divine wisdom and beneficence."

Should the reader of the foregoing quotations recall some of the features of the Mosaic statutes which we have been accustomed to regard as harsh, and demand an explanation which shall make them consistent with the view here given, our author supplies the answer. Alluding to the popular aversion to Moses on account of these ungenial peculiarities, he remarks, that "the principle that laws must be relative to circumstances, that they must grow out of the state of society, and be adapted to its wants, is founded in reason, and confirmed by experience." In this connection he cites Montesquieu as observing that the remarkable expression to be found in Ezek. xx. 25, "Wherefore I [Jehovah] gave them laws which were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live," "meaning that the institutions of Moses were not absolutely the best, but that they were relatively so, . . . is the sponge which wipes out all the difficulties which are to be found in the laws of Moses." Under the light which is now being thrown upon those times, it is evident that some of these laws which we have been accustomed to regard as severe were really ingenious and humane adaptations to existing circumstances. For instance, the law of retaliation, which allowed an eye for an eye, actually restrained revenge, and was so intended; because if there had been no limit placed upon passion, that is, if law had not been adjusted to the existing condition of society, two eyes would have been likely to have been taken instead of one. Or in the matter of divorce, in which extreme leniency seems to have been exercised by Moses, it may have been with a view to lessen the

probabilities of murder in cases of marital disagreement.

With the quotations made above I heartily agree; but I have now to notice expressions of quite a different character. Professor Wines repudiates the idea "that God intended that the Mosaic laws should bind any nation but the Hebrews." Now, there is a sense in which this is true: but in the sense in which he means it, and with him nearly the whole Protestant Church, it is not true; for the meaning with which he writes not only excludes the Mosaic laws in their statutory *form* from any appropriate application to modern society, but also excludes the very principles of the Mosaic legislation themselves, and shuts out Christ's use of them as well. The summary style in which our author discards that legislation concerning pecuniary affairs is shown in the following sentence, in which *usury* is included among various things, of which he says, "*None of the reasons on which these laws were based have any existence among us.*" Now, remembering that usury is one of the great foundation-stones of modern society, and that, in connection with our gigantic debts, it is confessedly causing profound alarm, set right against this saying of our author another from one of his opening paragraphs, as follows: —

"The Hebrew lawgiver is, in many respects, the man for the present. He belongs not solely to the past, as too common prejudice imagines. The great principles of public and private law, which he not only developed in theory, but reduced to practice, are so many lessons of inspired wisdom, so many lights of experience to guide the labors of statesmen and legislators to the end of time."

Is not the contradiction too plain to need comment? Can it be that a legislator who has "not only developed in theory, but reduced to practice, the great principles of public and private law," and who has given therein "so many lessons of inspired wisdom . . . to guide the labors of statesmen and legislators to the end of time," — can it be that he has gone so far astray concerning one of the fundamentals of life, that his laws in that regard have no lesson for us? Nay, rather, has not our author placed

himself in a predicament by such a contradiction? But in the whole of this he is but the mouthpiece of the whole Protestant world. What, then, shall we say of that world?

These things are written, not from a disposition to criticise an individual, or denounce Christian people, but from a profound conviction that our churches are wrong concerning this thing; that this wrong is the root of those great dangers which make the most thoughtful fear for the perpetuity of our institutions; and that only as we right this wrong can we save the republic.

From these remarks on the legislation of Moses, we advance to the consideration of the relations of the gospel to the questions in hand. I have taken the ground, in another publication more distinctively religious than this, that the majestic progress through Galilee, in which the Messiah made public proclamation of the kingdom of God, was mainly material or earthly in its character, and also communal, that is, addressed to cities or communities; that, with the single exception of the call to repentance (Mark vi. 12), there is no allusion to baptism, regeneration, or any other rite or experience of an individual or spiritual character. The twelve apostles and the seventy disciples who were sent forth were in some sense the representatives of the Hebrew senate and house of representatives,—elders and congregation, —as they are called in the Old Testament. They appealed directly to the national spirit, and their mission was in harmony with the general and justifiable expectation by the people of an earthly king to sit upon the throne of David, as foretold by their prophets.

Inasmuch as the full consideration of the above would take us away from our theme, I will now present some of the limitations under which the Master must unavoidably have labored, but which have not as yet attracted the notice which they deserve. It is generally supposed that Christ was frank and outspoken in speech, and declared plainly his message; and this, in a sense, is true. He himself said, "In secret have I said nothing" (John xviii. 20). Nevertheless, it is also true, and consistent with this, that large portions of the interviews and conversations

recorded in the Gospels were either in private, as with Nicodemus; or to his disciples in the same manner, as in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v. 1); or by parable in his more general discourse; or enigmatically, as when he replied to Pilate concerning his authority as king. The deeper one sees into the method and manner of Jesus, the clearer does it appear that the qualities of caution and reserve were often exercised by him in conduct singularly contrasted with his usual winning address and simplicity of language; and it was his deliberate intention to be thus guarded. He did not expect to be fully understood. He meant by his words much more than he intended them to convey to his hearers. This veiled manner of Christ sprang justly from the nature of his mission, which was, I apprehend, neither more nor less than the entire reconstruction of human society by the restoration of the Theocracy. He was the most tremendous revolutionist the world has ever seen. This purpose of his was directly contrary to the selfish interests of the Jewish hierarchy and also of the Roman government; and, in the brief period of six weeks from the time it was avowed, Pilate was goaded by the Sanhedrim to consent to his death. There is no doubt but that Jesus might have lived to a ripe old age, and have died in high esteem, if his preaching had been what the modern church assumes it to have been, — limited to the spiritual salvation of individuals. So far as we can see, he might, at the last moment of his life, have availed himself of the whole power of the Roman Government by simply telling Pilate, if he had been free to do so, that he did not propose to interfere with any of the existing institutions of Judæa. But he did not do this, because truthfully he could not. For conclusive proof of this, please refer to Luke iv. 18-29, which gives the account of a discourse at Nazareth, which, though apparently delivered at the opening of his ministry, seems to have foreshadowed the extraordinary scenes which transpired at its close, during the preaching of the kingdom of God throughout the Galilean cities.

The Hebrew world of labor was fast lowering to the Gentile level of slavery, which was the irresistible tendency of the masses of the Roman Empire.

Debt was inevitable. Chattelship unavoidably ensued, the debtor being sold to satisfy the claims of the creditor. While the sabbatic periods were observed, this bondage could not last over seven years; but these had fallen into contempt. Christ announced his purpose "to preach the acceptable or sabbatic year of the Lord, to preach deliverance to the captives, to set at liberty them that are bruised;" that is, to liberate all the slaves, — a message which was as offensive to the respectable classes of Nazareth as a similar errand would have been in South Carolina twenty years ago. *His own towns-people attempted to kill him on the spot, by throwing him headlong down a precipice*, just because of what he said, and would unquestionably have done so, had it not been for an extraordinary and mysterious influence which defeated their intention. The main volume of his mission to men turned upon the re-establishment of the kingdom of God, involving, necessarily, such an expansion and application of the Mosaic laws as would be required by the greatly altered conditions of society. If the Romans had known his intentions, they would not only have been as ready as the Jews to put him to death, but they would have taken the initiative. A free discussion of social questions was impossible under the empire. Their agitation involved such exposures to sedition, that the Romans would not even permit the organization of fire-companies, but relied entirely for the extinguishment of conflagrations on individual effort, aided by the soldiery. Such, however, was the wonderful prudence of Christ, that he succeeded in concealing his real aim in its ultimate form from the Roman authorities, and so avoided their enmity. The blindness which has hitherto obscured half of Christ's work is very astonishing. It is painfully apparent in the case of the gifted author of "Ecce Homo," who, writing with a view to quicken the church to a sense of its duty to the laboring masses, casts a deep shadow, where otherwise he could have shed light, by ignoring the claims of the law upon Christian believers, as follows: "Christ did not leave a code of morals in the ordinary sense of the word, that is, an enumeration of actions prescribed and prohibited." But what did he mean by his ex-

press declaration to his disciples? — "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets. I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. Whosoever, therefore, shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven." Is not this leaving a code of morals in all essential respects? I submit that he must be taken as sustaining the authority of the Mosaic code, not only in its principles, but in such specific application of them to the affairs of men as the Divine Spirit shall from age to age suggest. It may be true that he made "only two or three prohibitions and two or three commands;" but, if these mandates were comprehensive, they were sufficient. He loosened the sabbath; but he strengthened marriage. He gave the church authority over the secular affairs of its members (Matt. xvi. 19; xviii. 15–18), limiting his followers to an ecclesiastical court in adjustment of their mutual disagreements, with the assurance that their proceedings would be recognized in heaven. He bound the principle of labor cost or sacrifice into the conditions which should control the reward of toil in the parable of the laborers (Matt. xx. 1–16), wherein those who wearily and anxiously waited till the eleventh hour for some one to hire them were paid the same as those who were first employed. He forbid his followers lending on usury, but commanded them to lend, looking not even for the principal again (Luke vi. 35). He denounced the Pharisees for devouring widows' houses by usury (Matt. xxiii. 14). And in what has taken the name of the great commandment (John xxi. 15–17) he enjoined Peter, as the leader of the twelve apostles, to feed his lambs, twice repeating the injunction. Now, his introductory act having been an invitation to his hungry followers "to come and dine," the whole proceeding becomes a clear illustration of the truth that the material needs of men must be blended with the spiritual element in the preaching of the gospel of the kingdom.

It will, perhaps, be contended that these injunctions were addressed to his Hebrew followers, and therefore are not applicable to us Gentile believers. It is true that the full force of some of the commands he gave was remitted by him at the last sup-

per, because of the rejection by the nation of his authority as their king. "And he said unto them, When I sent you without purse and scrip and shoes, lacked ye any thing? And they said, Nothing. Then said he unto them, But now, he that hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise his scrip; and he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment, and buy one" (Luke xxii. 35, 36). But they are conclusive in any view as to his intentions, and plainly he would renew them again when the conditions should make them appropriate; and that they are perpetual in their final obligation is clear from the solemn arbitrament of the judgment scene (Matt. xxv. 30–40), where the test of fitness for heaven is made to depend upon the exercise of Christian affection in relieving hunger, thirst, nakedness, and imprisonment.

But, even if the presence of the Romans had not prevented an explicit promulgation of the details of the new dispensation, the proclamation of the Theocracy was brought so abruptly to a close as to leave no adequate opening for the full development of the kingly claims of Christ. If he had been "crowned," instead of being "crucified," no room for doubt as to his intentions would have remained. Solomon was unquestionably the type of his royal power, and in the history of his reign the beneficent millennial rule of Christ is dimly shadowed forth.

In the proverbs of this mighty prince we have a re-affirmation of the peculiar sociology of the Decalogue. He eulogizes wisdom as well as piety; denounces usury, and exalts the law (Prov. xxviii. 8, 10); and makes frequent and special mention of the evils of suretyship, or giving bonds for others, showing that he saw plainly that its tendency was to lead men to rely on money instead of character; and in doing this he condemns the practice of indorsing. But he became involved in the commercialism which he opposes, and his reign introduced the same evils which are now threatening society. The glut of silver, popular discontent, and excessive taxation, are repeating themselves in our own land from the same causes. The organization of labor in the building of the temple was the type and prophecy of the course which Christ would have followed, if he had not been prematurely "cut off in the midst of his

days," and it is also the course, which, by the most obvious of inferences, he is now, at his second coming, pursuing as an indispensable prerequisite to making the earth a temple for his worship and service.

It follows, also, from the above premises, that Christ must have acted and spoken with reference to the situation of the disciples after his departure; and his reserve was partly due to this cause. He well knew that his rejection would dwarf his majestic offer to restore the kingdom to the dimensions of the gospel as delivered to the apostles, which was simply the "good news" of the kingdom to be re-established at his "second coming." As he preached the kingdom, it was richly charged with the materialism of Moses, even after making all allowance for the caution which circumstances imposed upon him. But there was no possibility that his followers should succeed where he had temporarily failed. Therefore their mission, so far as it related to organization, was only tentative, or expectant of his re-appearance to complete his work. I use the above language solely with reference to the human side of the events under discussion, placing no limitation on the divine foreknowledge or power, except such as is necessarily connected with the freedom of the Jews to accept or reject the offer of national salvation.

"And now he comes! The signs are sure. All lands are armed for war. The mystic numbers are fulfilled. He comes!"

But how? This is a most momentous question. If we refer to the eleventh chapter of the Gospel of St. Mark, we shall find, that, when Jesus made his triumphal entrance into the temple, he did not at once proceed to cleanse it, as would be inferred from the other evangelists. But "when he had looked round about upon all things, and now the eventide was come, he went out unto Bethany with the twelve; *and on the morrow*, when they were come from Bethany, . . . they came to Jerusalem; and Jesus went into the temple, and began to cast out them that sold and bought in the temple, and overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and the seats of them that sold doves."

Several very important conclusions force themselves upon my mind in view of the above state-

ments. The first is, that these executive acts, the only ones which Jesus did in immediate connection with the royal prerogatives which the people had just recognized, *were entirely material in their character*, and they were a direct rebuke of the people for disobeying the laws of Moses in reference to buying and selling: they were not exchanging at cost, but for a profit. Next, that these acts, which I regard by all the attending circumstances of their occurrence as the culmination of the earthly side of our Lord's ministry, were performed on the *second day*, or, in broader utterance, at the second coming of Christ, and also that they were accomplished by him *alone*, the people not assisting at all, or taking any part, as they did on the preceding day. This last circumstance I regard as a typical fulfilment of the prediction in Isa. lxiii. 3: "I have trodden the wine-press alone; and of the people there was none with me."

Let us exclude from our apprehension of the manner of Christ's coming all ideas of his visible fleshly appearance among men, and rest in the assurance that the distress which now pervades all lands is the result of his spiritual presence manifesting itself in righteous indignation at the general contempt of the laws which were intended to govern men in their material affairs, as is indeed affirmed in a subsequent part of the prophecy already quoted: "And I looked, and there was none to help; and I wondered that there was none to uphold: therefore mine own arm brought salvation unto me; and my fury, it upheld me."

I take occasion here to express the opinion, that all existing schools of prophetic interpretation are at fault in their effort to ascertain the true meaning of the Scriptures in respect to the future: first, because of their failure to recognize the permanent character of the economic principles of the Decalogue; second, in the further failure to comprehend the truth that Christ has brought life and immortality to light mainly by revelations concerning the intermediate condition; and, third, because of literalism. This last error has forced the pre-Millenists to the absurd conclusion, that the Lord, in the very act of establishing the reign of the saints upon the earth, is to transfer them all in a body to heaven. These errors

are still further intensified by the vain effort to bring the personal views of the apostles concerning the coming of the Lord, as expressed in their letters, into harmony with the Gospels and Apocalypse, on the subject of prophecy. The reason for their partial knowledge is clearly stated by St. Luke in Acts i. 7: "And he [Christ] said unto them, It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power."

For a full, and to me a satisfactory explanation of the last things, divested of miraculous supernaturalism, so far as they refer to earthly matters, yet reverent and believing in the highest sense, I feel privileged in referring the reader to that remarkable book, "Foregleams of Immortality," by E. H. Sears.

I have been impelled to extend this allusion to prophecy, by a conviction that post-Millenism, the prevailing theory of the churches, practically neutralizes Christian faith in the second coming of our Lord: it amounts to an indefinite postponement of the whole question, and it is one of the principal reasons of the prevailing coldness and inefficiency. Now, inasmuch as many minds will concede the theoretic soundness of the views which I have urged concerning the relation of the gospel to the law, but will fail to discern that the coming is imminent, that is, that a tremendous crisis in human affairs is at hand, I desire to draw their attention to the four closing verses of the twelfth chapter of Revelation, as containing an intimation directly applicable to the American churches, and having very definite relations to the future of the republic. These verses are as follows: —

14. And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place, where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent.

15. And the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood.

16. And the earth helped the woman; and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood which the dragon cast out of his mouth.

17. And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ.

Bearing in mind that the events of prophecy are often intermingled, in the mystical language of the Apocalypse, without strict chronological accuracy, we can refer to the context in the sixth verse of the same chapter for a preliminary statement that the "flying into the wilderness" began with the persecution of the apostolic churches soon after the birth of the "man-child," and that the dissemination of the truth in this way has largely characterized the gospel dispensation during the "1,260 days," or prophetic years. We shall then note the banishment of Satan and his angels from Heaven, Hades, to the earth, which brings us to verse fourteen, and to the inference that the final exodus of the persecuted church found its highest development in the settlement of our own country to avoid oppression; the "two wings of a great eagle," our national emblem, being sufficiently pointed to indicate that America is the "wilderness" to which the last exodus was made. The "nourishment" of the Church, or "woman," during the "time, times, and half a time," of verse fourteen, or the "1,260 days" of the sixth verse, have expired, and they find the churches of America presenting in a marked degree the evidence of the divine favor in respect to numbers and wealth. With the ending of the period above named comes "the time of trouble" (of Dan. xii. 1), of tribulation (of Matt. xxiv. 21), and of the great earthquake (of Rev. xvi. 18); and the form that this trouble is taking in our own country is symbolically indicated in the three concluding verses I have quoted. The character and aims of the first settlers were high; but their descendants are fast becoming spiritually debased by the acquisition of wealth, through usury, in its varied forms: in this pursuit they have imported millions of degraded Africans, and have held them until recently in oppressive bondage. Large numbers of Europeans have arrived during the last fifty years, whose condition has not, in any marked degree, been improved by the mere possession of political freedom, as is proved by the existence of the immense tenement populations of our great cities; while upon our western coasts the incoming of the Chinese is fast convincing the public mind that the peace and progress, not only of the

republic, but of society itself, is at hazard. These hordes of barbarous and uneducated people constitute, to my mind, the "water as a flood," which the "serpent," or Satan, has "cast out of his mouth" after the "woman," or Church, that he might drown out, or "carry away," all the good influences of our religious and republican institutions.

The material or economical nature of the conflict is indicated in the sixteenth verse. The "woman" is not represented as being helped or saved by her piety, or by her spiritual gifts; but she is helped by the "earth," that is, by the wise and righteous use she finally makes of the material forces at her disposal in our immense continent and its vast natural resources, designed by God for the common use of all his creatures, without price.

The seventeenth verse describes an intense spiritual conflict, of which our country is to be the first and principal scene, while the great Armageddon contest of actual warfare rages in the Old World. This conflict will begin when the Church denounces usury, and withdraws itself from the present business system of the world, — the mystic Babylon of Scripture, — in compliance with the command of Christ in Rev. xviii. 4: "*Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, that ye receive not of her plagues.*"

Returning from this digression, — if it be one, — let us endeavor to ascertain some of the remedial measures by which we may hope to mitigate the divine displeasure, and put ourselves in harmony with Christ's instructions, to "occupy till he comes." There seem to be three ways of doing this: —

1. Through the associated action of individuals under religious incentives, though not necessarily in connection with a church. A few years since, Mr. Charles Nordhoff — a writer for the commercial press, of recognized character and ability — visited all the communes of the United States, and gave the result of his observations and conclusions in a very interesting book, entitled "Communism in America." Mr. Samuel Leavitt of New York, a most competent authority, says of this book, "Its principal value lies in the fact that it has overthrown for all time the arguments of the Shakers, Oneidans, and

the extreme Fourierites, — that a socialistic life cannot be maintained without destroying the marriage relation." There are seventy-two prosperous communes in the United States, under the control of eight distinct societies; viz., the Shakers, established in 1794; the Rappists, in 1805; the Zoarites, in 1817; the Amana and Bethel Communists, in 1844; the Oneida Perfectionists, in 1848; the Icarians, in 1849; and the Aurora Communists, in 1852. They number in all about five thousand persons, and are worth about twelve million dollars. Mr. Nordhoff has the reputation, which is sustained by his book, of being a very fair and unprejudiced writer; and he comes to the following conclusions: —

"Communists do not toil severely. In a commune no member is a servant. Communists are not lazy. Communists live well. Communists are temperate, and drunkenness is unknown among them. Communists are tenderly cared for when ill, and in old age their lives are made very easy and pleasant.

"It is a fixed principle in all the communes to keep out of debt, and avoid all speculative and hazardous enterprises. None of the communes make the acquisition of wealth a leading object in life: they are in no haste to be rich. Communistic societies become wealthy. The communal life provides a greater variety of employment for each individual, and thus increases the dexterity, and broadens the faculties of men. It gives independence, and inculcates prudence and frugality; it demands self-sacrifice, and restrains selfishness and greed, and thus increases the happiness which comes from the moral side of human nature."

2. The second remedial measure by which we may prepare for Christ's coming is through the action of the State. Our government, like that of the Hebrews, is the government of a free people. It is a system of self-government. Our constitution, like that of Moses, is pervaded with popular sympathies and the spirit of liberty. In what respect, then, do we differ from the standard by which we are comparing ourselves? In this, namely, that the Hebrew constitution was not only a government of laws, but of laws *referring directly to the industrial and financial condition of the common people.* We have so far followed in the steps of Moses, that we recognize the

theory, in both national and state constitutions, that government should be of laws, and not of men. But we have hitherto not only neglected to apply this theory specifically to the transactions of industry and exchange, but we are stoutly maintaining the right of individual and corporate capitalists not only to lord it as they please, over great bodies of laborers, but also to dictate terms in the matter of railroad transportation to influential mercantile and agricultural communities. We do this in the most thorough and effective manner in conserving "property" as the unit or base of our legislation; whereas the Bible standard is that of manhood, or, more properly, the family. It is true that our laws guard all classes of citizens from personal violence; but the practical effect of the laws concerning property is such as to inure almost exclusively to the trading and moneyed classes, because they do not apply to property until *after* it has been distributed. They make no effort, or pretence even, to shield the producer in his industrial right. Neither the legislative nor the judicial authorities of the State have admitted it to be any part of their functions to provide for equity in *the distribution of labor and its reward;* and in this respect they reverse the Mosaic legislation, which made as ample provision as the age permitted for relief from excessive toil, and controlled the price of labor, land, merchandise, and money, by the application of the highest principles of ethics. Two consequences follow from this disastrous omission: first, the enforced idleness of large numbers of the people, in consequence of the introduction of machinery, averaging at least a third of each year; and, second, an absolute inadequacy of income, not only because of this lack of steady employment, but also on account of the inherent defects of wages as a means of payment, their aggregate amount not being sufficient to purchase the things which the laborers have themselves made, thus causing the strange phenomenon of glutted markets in the midst of a needy and often suffering people. It has been ascertained by reliable statistics, that the State of Massachusetts, which probably pays the highest wages in the Union, only averages four hundred and eighteen dollars a year. As it is known that considerable numbers of skilled

workmen exceed this average, in prosperous years, by several hundred dollars, what a pinched and narrow living must women and youths, and all who compose the low-paid classes, have! These figures might be graded down through the different States until the colored laborers of the South are reached, where the united effort of a whole family only yields about two hundred dollars in cash per year. Will the reader pardon me if I point out here an appalling danger? Cultivated society is stupidly arguing against the exercise of violence by laborers, because having the ballot in their hands, and being the most numerous, they are assumed to have the means of peacefully righting themselves by political action; but I aver that this assumption is not justified by existing facts, and, furthermore, that the governing classes, as long as they deceive themselves by such a specious theory, are in the condition of men who lie down to sleep upon a railroad track. It is now more than fifty years since the labor agitation began in this country, and the results may be briefly summarized as follows: —

Our partial and ineffective legislation concerning the hours of labor, and our homestead laws, are all the enactments we have that touch vitally the interests of industry. The ten-hours day was one of the first requests we made; and our whole factory population are still pleading in vain for relief in this respect. Our lien law is a cheat. Suing in court is a mockery: the workman and all his family would starve to death a score of times before he could recover by a suit his wickedly withheld wage, which is his *living*. The law that gave three years for the redemption of a mortgage is repealed; and so is the law limiting interest on money. The national Eight Hour Law has been treated from the beginning with unblushing contempt, and disregarded by whole classes of officials having in charge large numbers of working-people; and, finally, the intelligent skilled workmen of the navy-yards and arsenals of the country have been deprived of its benefits by proceedings equally arbitrary and unrepublican. It follows, also, as an unavoidable consequence of our unhallowed worship of property, and neglect of the family, that we are rapidly sinking in this respect to the appall-

ing social conditions of the Old World. The sacred privacy which should invest the home has been invaded by the double occupancy of buildings by our respectable working-people; and statistics of the most reliable character prove that married women are being more and more forced to add their labor to that of their husbands to gain an ordinary livelihood. As a practical fact, our law system does so work as to enable a few money-holders to keep the people in subjection therewith, and devour their labor; and the case is growing worse and worse every day.

I maintain that the joint influence of the two erroneous theories, viz., that the power of the State should be limited to the protection of property *after* it has been distributed, and that the Church has no *direct* control over material affairs, effectually neutralizes whatever political advantages the people possess. We may vote and petition until doomsday; but we shall accomplish nothing until this state of public opinion is rectified. The dreadful scenes which occurred during the Pennsylvania railroad riots will be liable to be repeated as long as the pathway of reform is blocked with such disastrous errors.

The republic, if it would continue, must remedy these deficiencies. I have shown the germs of the social forces, which, in the various religious communes of the country, give us hope in these directions. It is my privilege now to call attention to the fact that the Plymouth Colony, which was indeed the moral seed-force of our national life, was unmistakably communistic in its origin, and that, in direct connection with this fact, the advantages of reciprocal relations between men in material affairs have been in operation in the New-England fisheries for two hundred and fifty years. And what makes this allusion the more pertinent is the fact that these beneficent customs have been indirectly, but very effectively, aided by the natural operation of the marine laws of the United States.

I recollect as one of the most valuable lessons of the early years of my life, that I saw, on one occasion, eighty sail of the most perfectly constructed vessels of their kind in the world, riding at anchor in the port of Wellfleet, Mass., a town deeply imbued with the Pilgrim spirit and character. These vessels

could not have been worth less than two hundred thousand dollars; and they were owned almost exclusively by their crews, numbering about a thousand men. They were navigated on shares; and the whole business as it was conducted at that time furnished conclusive evidence that the religious spirit may work in harmony with the State in the application of equitable economic law.

But while I believe in the right and duty of the nation to act on those principles of large utilitarianism, which would lead ultimately to equitable commerce, and while I feel that a necessity of the most urgent character is upon us to take some of the preparatory steps to that end, with reference to the currency, the tariff, telegraphs, and railroads, and also secular education, blended with natural religion, I frankly admit that the obstacles in the way of a full settlement of a question of such stupendous magnitude as this on intellectual grounds, and through political forces alone, seem to me to be insurmountable.

In considering the various local industrial communes, the fact has presented itself, that those only have had a marked success which have maintained a deep religious life; and, seen from this aspect, these quiet, peaceful, and prosperous societies have appeared like salt, tending to the preservation of society, if by any means their influence could be enlarged, and made general. And this brings me to my third means of practical reform.

3. The chief remedial work which must needs be done must be done by the Church of Christ. Every movement for reform hitherto has sprung out of the Church; and so must this movement begin. The very existence of the national republic is due to the fact that the members of the congregational churches of England and America had previously voted for two centuries in their local religious and civil organizations. Our political freedom is an outgrowth from the Church; and industrial liberty will come mainly from the same source. Within the memory of living men, the Christian Church has been aroused from profound slumber to a sense of her duty to Pagans, to drunkards, and to slaves: her final and greatest work, in the re-organization of society on Bible prin-

ciples, still waits for such an outpouring of the Holy Ghost as shall set the *things* of Christ, in this respect, in their true light before her astonished gaze. The Church must open her eyes to a sense of the fatal character of the blunder which her Protestant branches have committed in relinquishing all authority over the temporal affairs of life. Mr. Gladstone, in thanking a German author for the dedication of his work to himself, writes thus: "Germany now holds the first place in behalf of the world *in asserting the necessity of limiting spiritual power to spiritual things.*" In these words, England's greatest statesman undoubtedly expresses the prevailing views of Protestants. I believe the position to be utterly untenable, and, furthermore, that its continued application will be destructive, not only of free institutions, but of the further progress of the Christian Church. Do not misunderstand me on this point. I do not believe in a Christian amendment to our civil constitutions. It is one thing for the Church to exercise power over the State, and another and very different thing for it to carry its spiritual principles into practice in its relation to its own members by effective organization.

The economic question is so complex, that the confusion of Babel pervades the counsels of reformers: but Moses spoke clearly, and with divine authority, concerning the fundamental principles which should control society, in endeavoring to solve it; and, in rejecting his authority in this matter, the Protestant Church encourages discordant opinions, and also forfeits her claim to the respect which mankind universally accords to those who lift the race to higher levels of human living. Her missions have accomplished little that is conclusive in redeeming men. The Sandwich Islands, the most successful of them all, were converted to a spiritual faith, it is true; but the social application of that faith was neglected on principle, and the islanders are fast perishing by the unavoidable consequences of their contact with the mammonized business system of the world, from the evil effects of which they were entirely unprotected by their new religion. The same is true of the North-American Indians, in whose case the only success which has been attained has been in

those instances where the missions have transcended their own theories, and gathered their converts into communities.

But a contrary and most favorable result has always been observable whenever the Church has used the elements of voluntary but authoritative organization in her relation to worldly affairs. Quakers, Moravians, and Catholics have touched with bold, and measurably successful hands the industrial question. The last-named has the most sacred claim to the respectful consideration of Protestants by reason of her tender care in providing labor for the poor in connection with her conventual institutions during the middle ages, and her modern missions, in which labor has been organized and cared for on higher principles than those of the market.

The last book of the Old Testament is profoundly interesting to the student of Christian sociology, inasmuch as it demonstrates that the materialism of Moses was intended to find its full expansion under Christ. The prophet Malachi severely denounces the tribe of Levi for failing to instruct the people in the law. In chapter iii. verse 3, the coming of Christ to his temple is directly associated with the purifying and purging of the sons of Levi. They are accused of "causing many to stumble at the law," and the fearful consequences are pointed out that the nation was "cursed with a curse, for ye have robbed me, even this whole nation," in refusing to bring into the storehouses of the Lord the offerings which the law demanded, and in oppressing hirelings in their wages. The central theme of this prophecy is directly in line with Christ's language in Luke xvi. 11, that God will not commit "the true riches" to those who prove unfaithful in the unrighteous mammon. I would urge the following considerations as motives to bring the Church into right conduct in this respect; and in their support I will further quote from Professor Wines's book some statements which afford the most ample proof that the cultured and wealthy laity of the modern church have failed to realize the directly practical nature of the responsibilities which rest upon them as the representatives of the Levites, who, it will be seen, were devoted to the affairs of the present life ; the spiritual interests of the people

under the Hebrew economy having been committed to the high priests and the prophets, the Christian ministry taking their places in the gospel dispensation.

"The Levites were not a mere spirituality. Certainly they were the ministers of religion, and charged with all the functions appertaining to the public worship of Jehovah. But so close was the relation between the law and the religion of the Hebrews, that all ecclesiastical persons were at the same time political persons. Politically speaking, they were Jehovah's ministers of state: hence this tribe, as constituted by Moses, was not only a priesthood, appointed to the service of the altar, but also a true temporal magistracy, having important and vital civil relations. Besides performing the ceremonies of public worship, it was destined to preserve in its integrity, and to interpret in the seat of justice, the text of the fundamental laws; to teach these laws to all Israel; to inspire the people with a love for them; and to bind firmly together all the parts of the body politic.

"The tribe of Levi, then, comprehended the learned of all names; the sages and professors of law and jurisprudence, of medicine and physiology, of the physical and mathematical sciences; in short, all the so-called liberal arts and sciences, the possession and application of which constitute the civilization of a country. It was to be the chief instrument of a continuing and progressive mental, moral, and religious culture of the people. Its business was to produce, preserve, and perfect all the necessary sources and conditions of national civilization, to form and train up the people of the country to be obedient, free, useful citizens and patriots, living to the benefit of the State, and prepared to die for its defence."

Now, if we bear in mind that the professions here described were required to give their services to the people, so that any one who needed a doctor or a lawyer could be served gratuitously, that they were not even supported by a moneyed salary, as our preachers and teachers are, much less allowed to increase their income, or accumulate wealth by usury, but depended entirely for their support on a share of the crops coming to them in the form of tithes, we can form some idea of the great work to which the same classes are now called in free America, with such additions to the list above named as shall bring

the mercantile, manufacturing, and agricultural leaders of society, who may be members of the Christian Church, to a full sense of their obligation to Christ in this solemn crisis, to work with him in "fulfilling the law," so as to effectively abolish the present despotic and usurious systems of production and exchange, and thereby substitute the liberty of the kingdom of God, based upon the Decalogue in its twofold but closely interwoven relations, the material and the spiritual. The exigency is a fearful one: we cannot safely refuse to consider the claims of labor, or delay action. The causes of the present suffering are too deeply seated to be removed by superficial remedies. The Catholic Church should use the power which she has always claimed, by repeating her wise and successful colony on the Paraguay in such localities as to empty our cities of their depressed tenant populations. The Methodist Church could gain a new spiritual impulse, and employ large numbers of her intelligent and self-sacrificing laity, by sending them into the South and West to organize the freedmen into Christian communities after the pattern at Amana in Iowa, insuring their education and just treatment, solving a most angry and perplexing social question, and giving the cause of missions throughout the world the benefit of successful self-supporting example.

Wolves are increasing in the rural portions of Catholic France, and forests are springing up on the deserted farms of Protestant New England. On the Pacific coast the evidence has become so convincing that Asiatic immigration is dragging California down to the level of China, that the great cultured and conservative interests of society have reversed their original opinion, and, for the first time in the history of the world, are at one with the voice of labor in protesting against its continuance. No nation is under obligation, even by the Golden Rule, to love another people better than itself: our own citizens have the first claim upon our sympathies. It is clear that we are passing through a great crisis. It will be soon enough to welcome the Chinese in large numbers, when we have so far reformed our Christianity, and our customs of business and labor, as to turn their presence into a blessing by co-operation,

instead of its cursing us by its competition. The immediate providential aspect of this immigration is not what the mammonized press of the day calls it, — their christianization ; but its outlook is in the direction of our own conversion to the gospel of the kingdom in its fulness as pertaining to the temporal as well as the spiritual salvation of the people, by making a startling revelation of our own social and religious short-comings. The Chinese quarter of San Francisco is a parasite which has fastened itself upon our civilization, because we have done little or nothing for the heathen world. It will, if the present conditions of society should continue, certainly kill the tree upon which it has fastened. But the principles of the Bible, if applied, will not only save California, but send out vigorous offshoots in the shape of Christian mission communities to China and other benighted lands, thus defeating the malignant designs of Satan, and redeeming the world for Christ.

No effective remedy has been proposed for the reconstruction of the South. It is evident that the resort to force is out of the question. The reasons which forbid its exercise are equally valid against the maintenance of a great standing army to shoot down the starving laborers of our railroads, or the miserable tenant-house population of our great cities. Republican liberty will certainly disappear with such wholesale use of arms.

Christ has committed the keys of the kingdom to his Church. His perfected Church is the Theocracy restored, with himself as king. In the act of washing the disciples' feet he symbolized Christian labor, and he claimed all power over *things*, as well as *hearts*, "Jesus knowing that the Father had given all *things* into his hands" (John xiii. 3); and he also expresses very plainly in the prayer, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done in earth as in heaven," which millions of believers daily utter by his command, that he intends to guide his followers to victory in the solution of the two controlling issues of the present life, — the labor and the money questions. The whole of Christ's victory, of which this is a part, is thus foretold: —

"I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and

came to the Ancient of days. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed. . . . And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High, and all dominions shall serve and obey him." — DAN. vii. 13, 14, 27.

This vision can only be fulfilled when the Church exercises as full authority over property as it now does over personal character; when all property, so far as land and the instrumentalities for the production of wealth are concerned, is held by the people, and used for them; when it cannot be, as now, that the increase of the wealth of the few is gotten through the increase of the misery of the many, but when the influence of the Church in transforming the structure of society shall be such as to constrain and to help every one who has charge of affairs to consider the welfare and happiness of the people, as Moses did, and to conduct business in such a manner that all worthy and industrious persons will have enough to satisfy their reasonable desires: in short, only as the Church changes from its present narrow and selfish individualism, subjective in piety, and dwarfed in practice, to a broad and generous objective voluntary communism, open, hearty, loving, and fruitful, can this prophecy be fulfilled, and republican institutions be perpetuated.

The author earnestly recommends to preachers and students of prophecy, "Like unto Me," or the resemblance between Moses and Christ, a discussion of the relation of the Church to the People. It will be sent by the single copy, or quantity, at three cents each. The "Hope of the Republic" is also offered at cost.

Correspondence is solicited with reference to the work of the "Christian Labor Union," and also the "Golden Rule Alliance," an evangelical Protestant religious order, for purposes of life-assurance and relief in sickness, with both of which he is officially connected. E. H. R.

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